

البيعة وحقيقة الصراع

al-Bay‘ah wa Ḥaqīqat as-Sirā‘

The Bay‘ah and the Reality of the Conflict

**Shaykh Abū Maysarah ash-Shāmī
(1401 – 1438 A.H.)**

Chapter 1: The Introduction

In The Name of Allāh The Beneficent The Merciful

All praise is due to Allāh the Greatest and the Most High, and may the peace and blessings be upon the cheerful avid fighter and upon his noble and pure household. To proceed:

Hānī as-Sibā‘ī¹, the director of al-Maqrīzī center for historical studies, talked about the disagreement between the Islamic State and Jabhat an-Nusrah. So the brother thought that the basis of this problem lies in the misconceptions surrounding the Bay‘ah and the organizational relationship between the Islamic State and Tandhīm al-Qā‘idah. And this is far from the reality because the disagreement – after being only methodological, extended to a battle between truth and falsehood, that’s why it is important to understand some issues:

Firstly: Verily the Islamic State has an establishment on the ground, implemented and judged with Sharī‘ah. Its governance stretches from Raqqah to al-Barakah and large and complete pieces of land in Ḥalab, Ḥums, al-Anbār, Naynawah, Salāḥ ad-Dīn, Diyālah, Kirkūk and other places. They established the prayers in this places and Ḥudūd and courthouses and Ḥisbah² agencies.

We see the opposite if we look at the governance of the Saḥawāt and their ally al-Jawlānī. Their joint Sharī‘ah board has neither knowledge nor power, it is corrupt and it corrupts because they included in the legislations the extreme Sūfis, Murji‘ah, the Ikhwānīs and the criminals. Their slogan is: “No Sharī‘ah during war” and they misinterpret with their desires the sentence: “No Ḥudūd in Dār al-Ḥarb”. For two years, they controlled some large and stable “liberated” areas, but we didn’t see any Ḥisbah or Ḥudūd (punishments), except on the imprisoned soldiers of the Islamic State. And then we see the Jāhiliyyah statements like the one made by “Jaysh al-Mujāhidīn” allies of al-Jawlānī saying that Ḥijāb is a personal freedom.

¹ Hānī as-Sibā‘ī is a deviant whose pen writes day and night in support of Murtaddīn Saḥawāt

² The police that commands the good and forbids the evil

Secondly: Jawlānī’s group made its first priority fighting the Islamic State, so they put in first, fighting the Islamic State instead of fighting Ḥay‘at al-Arkān³ and the bandits, so they truly became Murji‘ah with the pagan coalition⁴ and Āl Salūl, and Khawārij with the Islamic State.

Thirdly: Abū ‘ Abdillāh ash-Shāmi issued a Fatwā based on lies, and he immediately made fighting the Islamic State compulsory because it’s a Tā‘ifah al-Mumtani‘ah from Ḥākimiyyah and labeled them as more extremist than the Khawārij, so he was similar to Ibrāhīm as-Salqīnī and ‘ Adnān al-‘ Ar‘ūr.

So now the disagreement developed into an ongoing war between the Islamic State who has empowerment on earth and the groups in the Jarbā and Āl Sa‘ūd coalitions together with the followers of Jawlānī, so they lined up in one rank in order to achieve their goal by coordinating it on all levels. All praise is due to Allāh who guided the defectors from Jawlānī to give their testimonies about the conspiracies.

Thus, the misconceptions surrounding the Bay‘ah have no traces on the ground because the defectors from Jawlānī front perform Hijrah in dozens to the Islamic State territory even if the misconceptions weren’t clarified. It is because they saw the deviation in Manhaj in this group. Also the threats by al-Jawlānī, the Fatwā of ash-Shāmī and their denial of the favors and the goodness that they, in the past used to acknowledge, encouraged them to pledge allegiance to the Islamic State.

So the reality is different from what was imagined by the brother, because the Muhājirīn and Ansār do not obey someone who commands them to join a coalition with the secularists, Salūliyyah, Jahmiyyah and criminals, nor do they obey the one who deviated in his Manhaj, disobeyed his Amīr⁵ and helped

³ General Staff Command of the Syrian Armed Forces

⁴ National Coalition of Syrian Revolutionary and Opposition Forces

⁵ Abū Muḥammad al-Jawlānī who disobeyed his Amīr Abū Bakr al-Baghdādī

against him those whom there is no dispute in their Kufr, even if the order was to come from all the “wise men” of the world.

In order to refute the Bay‘ah misconception by Allah’s will, I shall convey the words of Dr. Ayman adh-Dhawāhirī himself, with a short commentary, and from Allāh we seek assistance.

Chapter 2: The words of Ayman adh-Dhawāhirī

Firstly: The minister Abū Ḥamzah al-Muhājir, may Allāh have mercy on him, dissolved the al-Qā‘idah branch in the land of the two rivers⁶ without consulting his Amīr Shaykh Usāmah ibn Lādin, may Allāh have mercy on him, in Khurāsān and this is something which cannot be denied by Dr. Ayman. So the minister hastened with the declaration because the matter could not be delayed neither according to the Sharī‘ah, nor the situation, and Shaykh Usāmah recognized the legitimacy of the State because it is not permissible to postpone its establishment.

Appointing the Imām becomes an immediate duty upon ability

Dr. Ayman said:

إن إقامة الإمارة أو الدولة الإسلامية فريضة شرعية وضرورة واقعية، ولا يمكن تأخيرها لعدم توافر الظروف المثلى لاختيار الحاكم، وإلا لاستولى المفسدون وأعداء الإسلام على البلاد، وضاع الأمن وهددت الحرمات. ولوقعت الفتن، التي أضاعت ثمرة الجهاد في أفغانستان لولا قيام الإمارة الإسلامية، والتي يمكن أن تضيع ثمرته في العراق، فجميع الظروف الداخلية والخارجية في البلدين مهيأة ومتوفرة لإذكاء القتال الداخلي، إلا إذا قامت سلطة شرعية متمكنة تحبط تلك المؤامرات.

[...] في العراق فصل الإخوة من قبل في مساعيهم لتوحيد صفوف المجاهدين في شوري المجاهدين ثم حلف المطيبين ثم مبايعة دولة العراق الإسلامية من معظم الجماعات المجاهدة ذات المنهج الصحيح والقبائل المرابطة المجاهدة، بما يغني عن إعادته، وأكبر دليل على ذلك هو هذا الصمود البطولي للدولة المباركة، الذي تتحطم على صخرته الحملات العسكرية والفتن والمؤامرات

“The establishment of the Islamic state or emirate is a religious duty and a realistic necessity. This cannot be delayed for the lack of the best circumstances for electing the ruler. Otherwise, those who spread mischief and the enemies of Islām will seize the country, security will be lost, sanctities will be violated, and tumults will take place. The fruits of Jihād in Afghānistān would have been lost had the Islamic Emirate not been established. This could also lead to the loss of these fruits in ‘Irāq, especially since all the internal and external atmospheres in the two countries are prepared and are available for igniting infighting unless a legal and enabled authority was established to foil these conspiracies.”

⁶ al-Qā‘idah fī Bilād ar-Rāfidayn, the al-Qā‘idah branch of ‘Irāq

“(…) in ‘Irāq previously the brothers made successive efforts to unify the ranks of the Mujāhidīn first in the Mujāhidīn Shūrā Council then the Ḥilf al-Mutayyibīn, and then in the pledge of allegiance to the Islamic State of ‘Irāq by most of the Jihādī groups, which pursue the right methodology and the Mujāhid and steadfast tribes, the brothers mentioned this in detail. Therefore, it would be unnecessary to repeat it. The best proof of this is the heroic steadfastness of the blessed state on whose rock the military campaigns, seditions, and conspiracies fail.”⁷

So the establishment of an Islamic State is obligatory, that’s why Dr. Dhawāhirī explained in his answers in his open interview:

ضرورة قيام دولة العراق الإسلامية في هذا الوقت، والمبررات الشرعية والعملية لقيامها، خاصة أن هذه الضرورة متعلقة إلى حد كبير بالرؤية العملية لميدان الصراع، وإخواننا في دولة العراق الإسلامية هم رواد هذا الميدان، وقد عرف الإخوة في أفغانستان عدداً من أعيانها عن قرب، واتصلوا بهم في حالاتٍ مختلفة، ولم يجدوا فيهم إلا كل نبيلٍ وكرم خلقٍ وبصرٍ بالواقع المتقلب والأحداث العاصفة، التي عركتهم ومارسوها، ولا أدل على بصرهم بالواقع من هذا الإنجاز الضخم، الذي حققوه بتوفيق الله لهم، وأفسدوا به المخططين الأمريكي والإيراني في المنطقة، وهو الإنجاز الذي بدؤوه حفراً بأظافرهم في الصخر، في ظروفٍ تلبدت بالهزيمة واليأس والانبهار بالاكتماس الأمريكي والتواطؤ الإيراني، فهم بلا شك من أعراف الناس بميدانهم، أما عن عدالتهم وصدقهم، فأنا وجميع إخواني الذين عاشروهم يشهدون لهم بالصدق والنزاهة والزهد في الدنيا والرأي السديد والخلق الحميد

“The need for the establishment of the Islamic State of ‘Irāq and the religious and practical (shar‘iyyah) justifications for its establishment, particularly as such a need is to a great extent connected with a practical view of the battlefield. Our brothers in the Islamic State of ‘Irāq are pioneers in that field. The brothers in Afghānistān have known a number of Islamic State in ‘Irāq notables at close hand, and they contacted them in various cases. They found in them nobility, a generosity of spirit, and a perspicuous view of the changing reality and storming events which they experienced and which hardened them. The best proof of their perspicuous vision is the enormous achievement they accomplished with Allāh’s help, whereby they foiled the United States and Iranian plans in the region, an achievement they began by digging their nails into the rock, in circumstances shrouded in defeat, despair, and being overwhelmed by the US invasion and Iranian coalition. They undoubtedly know

⁷ Second Round of The Open Interview with adh-Dhawāhirī, 2008

their field better than anyone else. As for their fairness and truthfulness, all my brothers who lived with them testify to their truthfulness, honesty, renouncement of worldly pleasures, sound views, and good morals.”⁸

So Abū Hamzah al-Muhājir raḡimahullāh dissolved Tandhīm al-Qā‘idah fī Bilād ar-Rāfidayn while saying:

أقول للشيخ المفضل، والبطل المغوار، الهاشمي القرشي الحسيني النسب، أمير المؤمنين أبي عمر البغدادي: بايعتك على السمع والطاعة في العسر واليسر، والمنشط والمكره، وأثرة علينا، وألا ننازع الأمر أهله، وأن نقول الحق حيثما كنا لا نخاف في الله لومة لائم، معلنا ذوبان كل التشكيلات التي أسسناها بما فيها مجلس شورى المجاهدين، وبالنيابة عن إخواني في المجلس تحت سلطة دولة العراق الإسلامية

“I tell the venerable Shaykh, the brave hero, the Hāshimī Qurashī, who is of a Ḥusaynī origin, Amīr al-Mu‘minīn Abū ‘Umar al-Baghdādī: I pledge allegiance to you, to hear and obey, during difficulty and ease, wether in pleasant or unpleasant situations, and even against our preference and this is a promise not to dispute for power with the leader, and to say the truth wherever we are, and not to fear the criticism of anyone in the cause of Allāh. And I announce the integration of all the formations that we have established, including the Mujāhidīn Shūrā Council, on behalf of my brothers in the council, under the authority of the Islamic State of ‘Irāq.”⁹

And this was confirmed by Dr. Ayman with his saying:

ليس هناك شيء الآن في العراق اسمه القاعدة، ولكن تنظيم قاعدة الجهاد في بلاد الرافدين اندمج بفضل الله مع غيره من الجماعات الجهادية في دولة العراق الإسلامية حفظها الله، وهي إمارة شرعية تقوم على منهج شرعي صحيح وتأسست بالشورى وحازت على بيعة أغلب المجاهدين والقبائل في العراق.

“There is nothing in ‘Irāq today called al-Qā‘idah. For Tandhīm al-Qā‘idah in the land of the two rivers has merged by the blessing of Allāh with the other

⁸ Second Round of The Open Interview with adh-Dhawāhirī, 2008

⁹ In his speech “Inni l-Ḥukmu illā lillāh”

groups and Jihādī factions in the Islamic State of ‘Irāq, may Allāh protect it, and it is a shar‘ī (legal) Emirate upon the correct manhaj, and it was established with Shūrā and got the pledged of allegiance of majority of the Mujāhidīn and tribes of ‘Irāq.”¹⁰

And the Islamic State is truly established not just imaginary, Dr. Ayman said:

وفي الأمس القريب الذي عاصرناه قامت حكومة المجاهدين في بيشاور خارج أفغانستان، وهلل لها الجميع وباركوا وهنّؤوا، ولم يعترض أحد، وكثير ممن يعترض اليوم على دولة العراق الإسلامية لأنها غير مُمَكَّنة -كما يزعمون- كانوا من المصنفين والمهنيين والمهملين لحكومة المجاهدين في بيشاور، بل وفتح لأعضائها النظام السعودي -المعادي لدولة العراق الإسلامية- الكعبة ليتحالفوا على الوحدة في داخلها، ولم يُغن التعاهد داخل الكعبة عن نكث العهد بعد الخروج منها شيئاً.

واليوم تقام دولة العراق الإسلامية داخل العراق، ويحتفل المجاهدون بها في شوارع العراق، ويتظاهر الناس لتأييدها في مدن وقرى العراق، ويُعلن تأييدها والبيعة لها في مساجد بغداد، ومع ذلك لا يعترفون بها لأنها كما يزعمون ناقصة الأهلية، كل هذا لأن الرياح وقت ذاك كانت تهب من واشنطن أما اليوم فإن الرياح تهب بفضل الله على واشنطن، ولذلك تغيرت الفتوى لما تغيرت الرياح وتبدل الهوى

“And not that long ago, the Mujāhidīn established a government in Peshawar, outside Afghānistān, and everyone was happy about it, supported it and blessed it, and nobody condemned it, and many of those who are now condemning the Islamic State in ‘Irāq, with their claim that “it doesn’t have enough power” actually supported the government of Peshawar at the time.

And today, the Islamic State in ‘Irāq is established in ‘Irāq, and the Mujāhidīn are celebrating it in the streets, people are demonstrating to show their support in many cities and villages in ‘Irāq, and mosques in Baghdād are openly showing allegiance to it. And even with all that, those people still say it doesn’t have enough power! The reason is that at the time, the circumstances were pleasing to Washington but today Washington’s interest is at stake.”¹¹

And he also said:

أرسل تحياتي وتحيات إخواني لإخواننا المجاهدين في العراق، وأهنئهم على قيام دولة العراق الإسلامية، كما أحرص الأمة الإسلامية جمعاء على دعم هذه الدولة الفتية الناشئة، فإنها -بإذن الله- البوابة لتحرير

¹⁰ This was stated in his fourth meeting with as-Sahāb Media

¹¹ In “Nasīhatu Mushfaq”

فلسطين وإحياء دولة الخلافة الإسلامية. كما أحرص جميع إخواني المجاهدين في العراق على اللحاق بهذا الركب المبارك، كي ينفذوا عراق الخلافة من كيد الصليبيين وعملائهم تجار الدين الخائنين، ولكي يفسدوا ما تأمر عليه عبد العزيز الحكيم المتسول مع سيده حامي الصليب المنهزم في واشنطن

“I send my greetings and those of my brothers to our brothers, the Mujāhidīn in ‘Irāq and I congratulate them on the establishment of the Islamic State of ‘Irāq, and encourage the Islamic Ummah to back this young, fledgling state, for it, by the will of Allāh, is the gateway to the liberation of Palestine and the restoration of the Islamic Khilāfah. And I also encourage all my Mujāhid brothers in ‘Irāq to join this blessed caravan to rescue ‘Irāq of the Khilāfah from the schemes of the crusaders and their agents, the traitorous religion-traders, and to ruin what the beggar ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Ḥākīm conspired about in Washington with his master, the defender of the defeated cross.”¹²

And he also said:

دولة العراق الإسلامية رايتها وعقيدتها من أصفى الرايات والعقائد في العراق، فهي قد أقامت دولة إسلامية لا تتحاكم إلا للشريعة، وتعلي الانتماء للإسلام والمواطنة الإيمانية فوق كل الانتماءات والولاءات. وهو الأمر الذي لا زالت تتلطح بأحواله كثير من الحركات المنتسبة للإسلام، وهي دولة تدعو وتسعى وتجتهد في إعادة دولة الخلافة المنتظرة، وتحرض المسلمين على ذلك.

“The banner and creed of the Islamic State in ‘Irāq are from the purest banners and creeds in ‘Irāq. It has established an Islamic State that resorts to Sharī‘ah only. It also declares that affiliation with Islām and loyalty to faith are above all other affiliations and loyalties, something in whose mud many movements that are affiliated with Islām are drowned in. **It is a state that advocates and seeks and spares no effort to restore the awaited Khilāfah state.** It also incites Muslims on this issue.”¹³

And absolute Tamkīn¹⁴ isn’t a condition for establishing an Islamic State, Dr. Ayman said:

¹² In “The Realities of the Conflict between Islām and Kufr”

¹³ Second Round of The Open Interview with adh-Dhawāhirī, 2008

¹⁴ empowerment

لقد قامت ما يُسمى بحكومة حماس في غزة ورام الله ولم نسمع نقداً من المنتقدين على دولة العراق الإسلامية لها، ولم يتهمها أحد بأنها حكومة ناقصة الأهلية وغير مُمكنة، ونصف الحكومة في غزة لا يتصل نصفها في رام الله إلا بالدوائر التلفزيونية، ورئيس الحكومة لا يخرج ولا يدخل بل لا يستطيع أن ينتقل بين شطريها إلا بعد أن يأذن له ويفتشه الجيش الإسرائيلي، وكثير من النواب والوزراء اعتقلتهم إسرائيل، ولم نسمع من الناقدين نقداً بأنها حكومة ناقصة الأهلية! ثم أُجبرت حماس التي تزعم بأنها تنهج النهج الديمقراطي وتمثل أغلبية الناخبين بضغط الدول راعية الديمقراطية على التخلي عن ثلثي مقاعد الحكومة والإقرار بالتنازل عن أربعة أخماس فلسطين، والتسليم لمحمود عباس بحق النقاوض باسم ودولة العراق الإسلامية -بفضل الله ونعمته- الفلسطينين، ولم نسمع من الناقدين أنها ناقصة الأهلية! حجمها وعدد جنودها وأنصارها أضعافاً مضاعفاً ما يسمى بحكومة حماس، وقادتها يتحركون دون إذن من أحد، بل ويهددون أمريكا، وتعترف أمريكا بخطرهم الشديد، ويدعون إخوانهم الفلسطينيين المطرودين في الصحراء بين العراق والأردن ضحايا الميليشيات الخادمة للصليب إلى سكنى قرى ومدن الدولة الإسلامية، ويعلنون الدفاع عن كل قضايا المسلمين من غروزي إلى سبتا ومليليا، ويتعهدون بالسعي لفك أسر أسارى المسلمين وعلى رأسهم علّم الدعوة والجهاد الشيخ عمر عبد الرحمن -فك الله أسر- بل وفي المقابل تتبرأ ويشنون الحملات على الأمريكان باسمه، ورغم كل ذلك يعتبرونها ناقصة الأهلية! قيادة حماس من إخوانها المجاهدين، ويصل الأمر بأحد قادتها أن يعلن في موسكو أن الشيشان مسألة داخلية روسية! وتقتل حماس كل يوم من فتح، وتقتل فتح منها، وتعلن حماس ذلك ولا تعتذر عنه وتقدم مبرراتها لما تفعله، وتسارع الحكومات العربية إلى الوساطة بينهما ومناشدتها لجمع الشمل بالتي هي أحسن، ودولة العراق الإسلامية تعلن أنها لا تقتل إلا الجواسيس والخونة، بل وتعلن براءتها من أي دم معصوم قد يسفكه أحد من جنودها، بل ويعلن أميرها استعداده للمثول لمجلس القضاء في أي مظلمة وأنه مستعد لأن يؤخذ الحق منه شخصياً إذا خرج الحكم الشرعي عليه، ورغم ذلك تُثار في وجههم عواصف لأن جرّ الحملات الإعلامية والدعاوى والادعاءات عكس تماماً ما يُقال لحماس، لماذا كل هذا التناقض؟ حماس للعبة التنازلات السياسية إرادة صليبية صهيونية تنفذها الحكومات العربية، أما قيام دولة العراق الإسلامية فهو إرادة إسلامية جهادية تحاربها الحملة الصليبية الصهيونية، وبالتالي الحكومات العربية، وإذا عُرف السبب بطل العجب.

“The so-called Ḥamās government in Gaza and Rāmallāh has been established and we didn’t hear those who condemn the Islamic State in ‘Irāq, nobody said it’s not legitimate or lacks power. One half of the government in Rāmallāh and the other half in Gaza can’t even meet with each other! And the prime minister can only move if the Israeli army gives him permission! And many of their ministers and deputies have been arrested and imprisoned by Israel, but did we did not hear anyone say they are not legitimate or they lack power! Ḥamās even had to let down two thirds of its seats and abandon four fifths of Palestine and give authority to Maḥmūd ‘Abbās to negotiate in the name of the Palestinians, but we didn’t hear those people condemning it or saying it lacks power!

And the Islamic State in ‘Irāq, with the blessing and permission of Allāh, has much more territorial control, soldiers and supporters than the so-called government of Ḥamās, its leaders can move freely, they threaten America, and America recognizes its danger. They defend every Muslim cause, from Grozny to Ceuta and Melilla, they promised to free the Muslim prisoners, especially the symbol of Da‘wah and Jihād, Shaykh ‘Umar ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān, and they even launch campaigns against America in his name! And even with all that you consider it lacking power?

And on the other side, you have the Ḥamās leaders who declare themselves innocent from the Mujāhidīn, they even said in Moscow in a visit, that the Chechnya conflict is a “Russian interior problem”! And every day Ḥamās and Fatāḥ fight and kill each other, and they justify it, then Arab regimes come to mediate between them! While the Islamic State in ‘Irāq announced it only fights the spies and the traitors, and it declared itself innocent from those who spill unlawful blood, its leaders are ready to be judged and punished if they fall into any legal (shar‘ī) crime, and even with all that, there are still media campaigns filled with lies against them, and you still believe them? What is this contradiction?

The reality is, the Ḥamās game where it goes concession after concession, is something the Zionists and Crusaders want, and the Arab regimes provide everything for it, while the establishment of the Islamic State in ‘Irāq is an Islamic project of Jihād, being fought by the Zionists and the Crusaders, and hence by the Arab regimes as well and if the reason is known, the wonder is gone.”¹⁵

And also it’s not a condition for a state to be free from mistakes, Dr. Ayman said:

¹⁵ In “Nasīḥatu Mushfaq”

تقوم الإمارة الإسلامية إذا كانت الشريعة هي الحاكمة في المناطق التي تسيطر عليها، وإن كانت فيها جوانب تقصير أخرى. والله أعلم.

“The Islamic Emirate is declared once it applies Sharī‘ah in the territories under its control, even if it makes mistakes, and Allāh knows best.”¹⁶

And retreating from some areas into the desert doesn’t mean they became a fighting organization after being a legitimate state. Also when the Arabian Peninsula fell out of the governance of as-Siddīq¹⁷, that didn’t mean his state wasn’t legitimate. Likewise according to him, The statehood of the Islamic Emirate of Afghānistān didn’t end because they retreated into the mountains. Dr. Ayman said:

أقول للذين يشككون في تمكن دولة العراق الإسلامية وسيطرتها على الأرض؛ هل يستطيع أحد أن ينكر فإن كان الجواب بنعم، أن الدولة المباركة تسيطر على الأقل على كيلومتر مربع واحد من أرض العراق؟ وهو كذلك بفضل الله، إذن فلماذا تتكرونها عليها أن تقيم دولة إسلامية على الأرض التي تسيطر عليها؟ وكم كانت مساحة دولة المدينة المنورة قبل غزوة الأحزاب؟ وكيف كان حالها في غزوة الأحزاب؟ ألم ﴿إِذْ جَاؤُكُمْ مِّن فَوْقِكُمْ وَمِنْ أَسْفَلَ مِنكُمْ وَإِذْ زَاغَتِ الْأَبْصَارُ وَبَلَغَتِ الْقُلُوبُ يَصْفَهَا الْقُرْآنُ إِذْ يَقُولُ: الْحَاجِرَ وَتَطْمَئِنُّ بِاللَّهِ الظُّلُومُ﴾ {10} هُنَالِكَ ابْتُلِيَ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ وَزُلْزِلُوا زَلْزَالًا شَدِيدًا {11} وَإِذْ يَقُولُ الْمُنَافِقُونَ وَالَّذِينَ فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ مَّرَضٌ مَا وَعَدَنَا اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ إِلَّا غُرُورًا {12} وَإِذْ قَالَتْ طَائِفَةٌ مِّنْهُمْ يَا أَهْلَ يَثْرِبَ لَا مَقَامَ لَكُمْ فَارْجِعُوا وَيَسْتَأْذِنُ فَرِيقٌ مِّنْهُمُ النَّبِيَّ يَقُولُونَ إِنَّ بُيُوتَنَا عَوْرَةٌ وَمَا هِيَ بِعَوْرَةٍ إِن يُرِيدُونَ إِلَّا فِرَارًا). ثم يقول سبحانه وتعالى: ﴿لَقَدْ كَانَ لَكُمْ فِي رَسُولِ اللَّهِ أُسْوَةٌ حَسَنَةٌ لِّمَن كَانَ يَرْجُو اللَّهَ وَالْيَوْمَ الْآخِرَ وَذَكَرَ اللَّهَ كَثِيرًا﴾ {21} وَلَمَّا رَأَى الْمُؤْمِنُونَ الْأَحْزَابَ قَالُوا هَذَا مَا وَعَدَنَا اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ وَصَدَقَ اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ وَمَا زَادَهُمْ إِلَّا إِيمَانًا وَتَسْلِيمًا {22} مِّنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ رِجَالٌ صَدَقُوا مَا عَاهَدُوا اللَّهَ عَلَيْهِ فَمِنْهُمْ مَّن قَضَىٰ نَحْبَهُ وَمِنْهُمْ مَّن يَنْتَظِرُ وَمَا بَدَّلُوا تَبْدِيلًا {23} لِيَجْزِيَ اللَّهُ الصَّادِقِينَ بِصِدْقِهِمْ وَيُعَذِّبَ الْمُنَافِقِينَ إِن شَاءَ أَوْ يَتُوبَ عَلَيْهِمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ غَفُورًا رَّحِيمًا {24} وَرَدَّ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا بِغَيْظِهِمْ لَمْ يَنَالُوا خَيْرًا وَكَفَى اللَّهُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ الْقِتَالَ وَكَانَ اللَّهُ قَوِيًّا عَزِيمًا {25} وَأَنْزَلَ الَّذِينَ ظَاهَرُوهُمْ مِّنْ أَهْلِ الْكِتَابِ مِنْ صَيَاصِبِهِمْ وَقَذَفَ فِي قُلُوبِهِمُ الرُّعْبَ فَرِيقًا تَقْتُلُونَ وَتَأْسِرُونَ فَرِيقًا {26} وَأَوْرَثَكُمْ أَرْضَهُمْ وَدِيَارَهُمْ وَأَمْوَالَهُمْ وَأَرْضًا لَّمْ أَلَيْسَتْ هَذِهِ حَقَائِقُ قُرْآنِيَّةٌ؟ أَلَيْسَتْ هَذِهِ سِيرَةُ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ تَطَوُّوْهَا وَكَانَ اللَّهُ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرًا). عليه وسلم؟ أليس هذا ما نتعلمه من الذكر الحكيم؟

¹⁶ Second Round of The Open Interview with adh-Dhawāhirī, 2008

¹⁷ Abū Bakr as-Siddīq radīy-allāhu ‘anhu

“Ask those who cast doubt on the enablement of the Islamic State in ‘Irāq and its control of land: Can anyone deny that the blessed state controls, at least, one square kilometer of the land of ‘Irāq? If the answer is yes, and it is so, praise be to Allāh, then why do you deny it the right to establish an Islamic state on the land it controls? What area did the state in Maḍīnah al-Munawwarah control before the battle of al-Aḥzāb? And how was the situation in it during the battle of al-Aḥzāb? The Qur’ān describes this and says:

“Behold! They came on you from above you and from below you, and behold, the eyes became dim and the hearts gaped up to the throats, and you imagined various (vain) thoughts about Allāh. In that situation were the believers tried: they were shaken as by a tremendous shaking. And behold! The hypocrites and those in whose hearts is a disease (even) say: “(Allāh) and His Messenger promised us nothing but delusion!” Behold! A party among them said: “You men of Yathrib, you cannot stand (the attack)! Therefore go back!” And a band of them ask for leave of the Prophet, saying, “Truly our houses are bare and exposed,” though they were not exposed they intended nothing but to run away.”¹⁸

Allāh Almighty then says: “You have indeed in the Messenger of Allāh a beautiful pattern (of conduct) for any one whose hope is in Allāh and the Final Day, and who engages much in the Praise of Allāh. When the Believers saw the Aḥzāb, they said: “This is what Allāh and his Messenger had promised us, and Allāh and His Messenger told us what was true.” And it only added to their faith and their zeal in obedience. Among the believers are men who have been true to their covenant with Allāh. Of them some have completed their vow (to the extreme), and some (still) wait: but they have never changed (their determination) in the least: That Allāh may reward the men of truth for their truth, and punish the hypocrites if that be His Will, or turn to them in Mercy: for Allāh is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful. And Allāh turned back the disbelievers for (all) their fury: no advantage did they gain; and enough is Allāh for the believers in their fight. And Allāh is full of Strength, able to enforce His Will. And those of the People of the Book who aided them – Allāh did take them down from their strongholds and cast terror into their hearts, (So that) some you

¹⁸ Sūrat al-Aḥzāb: 10-13

slew, and some you made prisoners. And He made you heirs of their lands, their houses, and their goods, and of a land which you had not frequented (before). And Allāh has power over all things.”¹⁹

Are these not Qur’ānic facts? Isn't this the Sīrah of the Prophet sallā-llāhu ‘alayhi wa sallama? Isn't this what we learn from the wise remembrance?”²⁰

And he also said:

يقول [الشيخ أسامة] عَمَّنْ يعترض على دولة الإسلام بأنها غير ممكنة تمكيناً تاماً: 'ومن تدبّر كيف حال دولة الإسلام الأولى يوم أحدٍ ويوم الأحزاب إذ بلغت القلوب الحناجر، ويوم أن ارتدت جزيرة العرب إلا قليلاً بعد وفاة رسول الله -صلى الله عليه وسلم- لعلم أن التمكين المطلق ليس شرطاً لانعقاد البيعة للإمام أو لقيام دولة الإسلام. فلا يصح أن يقال لمن بويع على إمارة إسلامية، نحن لا نسمع لك ولا نطيع لأن العدو يستطيع إسقاط حكومتك.'

“(Shaykh Usāmah) said in refutation of those who oppose the Islamic State, claiming that it does not have complete control over the land: "Whoever thinks about the state of the first islamic state on the day of Uḥud and Aḥzāb, when the hearts reached the throats, or when the Arabian Peninsula became apostate after the death of the Messenger of Allāh sallā-llāhu ‘alayhi wa sallama²¹ except for a few, will know that complete control is not a condition for the pledge of allegiance to the Imām or the establishment of the Islamic state. So it is not right to say to the one who has been given the Bay‘ah over an Islamic Emirate: We will neither listen nor obey you, because the enemy is capable of overthrowing your government.”²²

And Shaykh Usāmah ibn Lādin said:

¹⁹ Sūrat al-Aḥzāb: 21-27

²⁰ Second Round of The Open Interview with adh-Dhawāhirī, 2008

²¹ By comparing the Islamic State in ‘Irāq with the early Khilāfah, he affirms that it is not just a group but rather an shar‘ī state and an Imāmat al-Kubrā and affirms that a Khilāfah does not have to rule over a lot of territory.

²² Second Round of The Open Interview with adh-Dhawāhirī, 2008

فسقوط الدولة لا يعني نهاية المطاف ولا يعني سقوط جماعة المسلمين وإمامهم

“The fall of the State doesn’t mean everything has ended, and doesn’t mean that the Jamā‘ah of the Muslims and their Imām has ended”²³

Also Abū Bakr al-Ḥusaynī al-Qurashī received the Bay‘ah as an Amīr al-Mu‘minīn of the Islamic State in ‘Irāq, he didn’t receive the Bay‘ah as Amīr of an organization. We can read the following in a statement by Shūrā council of the Islamic State in Irāq:

ظل مجلس الشورى في حال انعقاد مستمر طيلة الفترة الماضية للقاء وزراء الدولة وولايتها وأهل الحل والعقد وأصحاب الرأي فيها، ونبش أمة الإسلام ونخص منهم طليعتها المجاهدة، وفي مقدمتهم شيوخ الأمة وقادة الجهاد في كل مكان بأن الكلمة قد اجتمعت على بيعة الشيخ المجاهد أبي بكر البغدادي الحسيني القرشي أميراً للمؤمنين بدولة العراق الإسلامية، وكذا تولية الشيخ المجاهد أبي عبد الله الحسيني القرشي وزيراً أولاً ونائباً له. والشيخان الفاضلان من أهل القدم الراسخة في العلم والسابقة في الدعوة لدين الله والجهاد في سبيله نحسبهما كذلك والله حسيبهما.

“The Shūrā session met continuously throughout the last period to meet the ministers of the state, their leaders and the Ahl al-Ḥallī wa l-‘Aqd as well as the people of opinions therein. And we proclaim to the Ummah of Islām and especially its Mujāhidīn and at their head the Shuyūkh of the Ummah and the leaders of Jihād everywhere, the glad tidings that the word united, to give the Bay‘ah to Mujāhid Shaykh Abū Bakr al-Baghdādī al-Ḥusaynī al-Qurashī as Amir al-Mu‘minīn of the Islamic State of ‘Irāq and also the appointment of Mujāhid Shaykh Abū ‘Abdullāh al-Ḥasanī al-Qurashī as the first minister and vice of him. And the two honorable Shuyūkh are from the people whose foot is firm in the knowledge of Da‘wah to Allāh’s Dīn and the Jihād in His path. This is how we think of them and Allāh knows them best.”²⁴

²³ In “as-Sabīl li-lḥbāt al-Mu‘āmarāt”

²⁴ The full statement of the Shūrā council was already translated in the book “**Madu l-Ayādī li Bay‘at al-Baghdādī**” (Extend Your Hands for the Bay‘ah to al-Baghdādī) which proves the validity of the Khilāfah.

This was also confirmed by the official spokesman of the Islamic State Abū Muḥammad al-‘Adnānī ash-Shāmī in Ramadān 1434 A.H. when he said:

ولئن فقدنا أميرنا أبا عمر البغدادي، فلقد خلفنا الله بخير منه إن شاء الله -نحسبه والله حسيبه- مولانا أبو بكر الحسيني القرشي البغدادي أمير المؤمنين حفظه الله وسدد خطاه، وكذلك نائبه أبي عبد الله الحسيني القرشي البغدادي حفظه الله، ولئن خسرنا وزيرنا الأسد أبا حمزة المهاجر، فلقد ربّى رجالاً وترك خلفه ليوث غاب كواسر، ثم هذا أبو سليمان الناصر لدين الله في الميدان، فأبشروا واطمننوا فإن دولة الإسلام باقية بإذن الله، رغم أنف الحاقدين.

“And when we lost our Amīr Abu ‘Umar al-Baghdādī, Allāh blessed us with better than him in shā’ Allāh, we consider him such and Allāh will be his judge, our Amīr Abū Bakr al-Ḥusaynī al-Qurashī al- Baghdādī, Amīr al-Mu’minīn, may Allāh protect him and guide his footsteps. Likewise is his deputy Abī ‘Abdillāh al-Ḥasanī al-Qurashī al-Baghdādī hafīdhahullāh. And if we lost our minister of war, the lion Abu Ḥamzah al-Muhājir, he had raised men and left behind him crashing jungle lions, then here is Abu Sulaymān an-Nāsir li-Dīnillāh in the battle field, so glad tidings and **don’t worry, the Islamic State is staying by the permission of Allāh, despite the anger of the hateful.**”²⁵

Instead of opposing this description²⁶, he (Ayman adh-Dhawāhirī) confirmed it by reciting this poem:

*In the land of two rivers, It is supported by battallions
And by an Islamic State that assaults and roars
To her, daily in ‘Irāq are new fightings
In the sea of deaths, the deaths being like valley openings
The soldiers of Abū Bakr have confronted apostasy
Triggered by the dollar, inciting and gathering it*²⁷

²⁵ In “Inna ad-Dawlat al-Islām Bāqiyah”

²⁶ As Amīr al-Mu’minīn of the Islamic State in ‘Irāq

²⁷ In “Tawḥīd al-Kalimah ḥawl Kalimat at-Tawḥīd”

So it is a duty upon the Islamic State to expand and to destroy the borders drawn by Sykes-Picot, not to isolate itself within it²⁸. And it is upon the Muslims to support it not to wage war against it. And from the most important forms of support is pledging allegiance to it.

Dr. Ayman said:

كما أناشد الأمة المسلمة: أن تدعم المجاهدين في العراق وخاصةً دولة العراق الإسلامية، فإن هذا هو أقصر السبل لتغيير الواقع المرير في قلب العالم الإسلامي، والتوجه نحو بيت المقدس وكسر الحدود والحواجز التي وضعها الطواغيت المفسدون بيننا وبين إخواننا في أكنافه.

“I also plead to the Muslim Nation to support the Mujāhidīn in ‘Irāq and especially the Islamic State in ‘Irāq, as this is the shortest way to change the bitter situation in the heart of the Islamic World, and heading towards Bayt al-Maqdis and breaking the boundaries and borders the corrupt Tawāghīt had placed between us and our brothers everywhere.”

وسنظل عاجزين عن وقف الجرائم في فلسطين وغيرها من ديار الإسلام ما لم نحطم هذه الحواجز وتلك الموانع، وسنكتفي كلما قام العدو الصليبي الصهيوني ضدنا وضد إخواننا بمجزرة جديدة بالتظاهر والهتاف وإلقاء الكلمات والخطب والمواظ ثم ننقلب لبيوتنا منكسرين يائسين عاجزين.

“And, we will be incapable of stopping the crimes in Palestine, and in others besides it in the Islamic places, if we don’t break these boundaries... or else, we will just be satisfied with protesting, shouting, giving speeches and lectures every time the Crusader Zionist enemy stands against us and our brothers with a new massacre, and just return to our homes broken, miserable and incapable.”

²⁸ And from the most strange arguments is that some people indirectly affirm the Sykes-Picot borders by claiming that Abū Bakr al-Baghdādī was not allowed to move west because of the border.

واليوم يسّر الله لنا هذه الفرصة النادرة بأن قام في العراق الحبيب جهادٌ متحرراً من قيود الحكومات والأنظمة وقامت دولةٌ إسلاميةٌ مجاهدةٌ موحدةٌ عزيزةٌ، أفسدت المخطط الصليبي الأمريكي في قلب العالم الإسلامي، وتتحرق شوقاً للتوجه نحو المسجد الأقصى وفلسطين. فلندعم هذا الجهاد المبارك في عراق الخلافة ولندعم هذه الدولة الفتيّة المجاهدة المرابطة ولا نتخلف عن هذا الفرض وذلك الواجب فينزل بنا من الله عقابه وسخطه.

“And today, Allāh granted us this rare opportunity that, in the beloved ‘Irāq, Jihād has risen free of governments and regime chains, and the strong, united Mujāhid Islamic State was founded. It destroyed the American crusader plan in the heart of the Islamic World, and is burning to head towards al-Aqsā Mosque and Palestine. So, let us support this blessed Jihād in the ‘Irāq of the Khilāfah, and let us support this patient young country and to not back away from this obligation and that responsibility as Allāh will bring down on us His punishment and discontent...”²⁹

He also said:

أذكر الإخوة بقول الشيخ أسامة -حفظه الله- في كلمته الأخيرة: [...] فإن انهزمت [أمريكا] وعملواها في العراق بإذن الله، فلن يبق كثيرٌ ولا قليلٌ لتنتقل جحافل المجاهدين، كتائبٌ في إثرها الكتائب من بغداد والأنبار والموصل وديالى وصلاح الدين تعيد لنا حطين بإذن الله.

“I remind the brothers of what Shaykh Usāmah hafidhahullāh said in his latest speech: If (America) and its agents are defeated in ‘Irāq with the permission of Allāh, there won’t be much before the caravan of the Mujāhidīn starts its road, in successive convoys going from Baghdād to Anbār, Mosul, Diyālā and Salāḡ ad-Dīn until Ḥittīn³⁰ comes back to us with the permission of Allāh”³¹

He also said:

²⁹ In “Sittu Sanawāt ‘alā Ghazwat al-‘Irāq”

³⁰ In the Battle of Ḥittīn, Salāḡ ad-Dīn was able to defeat the crusaders which led to the liberation of Jerusalem.

³¹ Second Round of The Open Interview with adh-Dhawāhirī, 2008

[إن] دولة العراق الإسلامية وإخوانها المجاهدين لن يقرّ لهم قرار حتّى يحطّموا الحدود بينهم وبين بيت المقدس ويندفعوا لأكنافه ليتّحدوا مع إخوانهم هناك في جهاد الصّهاينة اليهود، وإنقاذ المسجد الأقصى بإذن الله.

“The Islamic State in ‘Irāq and our Mujāhidīn brothers **will not feel at ease until they destroy the borders between them and Bayt al-Maqdis**, and unite with their brothers there and fight the Zionist Jews, and save Maṣjid al-Aqsā with the permission of Allāh.”³²

He also said:

وإني لأذكر أصحاب هذه الأفكار بالكلمات المضيئة لشهيد الإسلام كما نحسبه الشيخ عبد الله عزام رحمه الله حين قال: ‘إن الحق يأبى الحدود الجغرافية ولا يرضى أن ينحصر في حدود ضيقة اخترعها علماء الجغرافية، فالحق يتحدى العقول البشرية النزيهة ويقول لها ما بالكم تقولون إن القضية الفلانية حق في هذا الجانب من الجبل أو النهر وهي باطل إذا تعدت هذا الشاطئ إلى الشاطئ الآخر.

“And I remind them of the enlightening words of the martyr of Islām as we consider him, Shaykh ‘Abdullāh ‘Azzām, when he said: “**Truth doesn’t care about geographical borders, and doesn’t limit itself to limits delimited by geographers.** Truth transcends untainted human mind, telling it; how can you say that so and so issue is true on this side of the mountain and false on the other, or true on one border of the river, and false on the other”³³

He also said:

وأسأله سبحانه أن يؤيد بنصره وتوفيقه ومدده دولة العراق الإسلامية الفتية وأن يوفق أميرها المجاهد أبا عمر البغدادي حفظه الله لما يحب ويرضا، وأن يمكن لهذه الدولة حتى تجمع شمل كل إخوانها المجاهدين والمسلمين في العراق، وحتى تقيم في عراق الخلافة دولة إسلامية مجاهدة تتوجه لتحرير بيت المقدس وتخطوا نحو إقامة دولة الخلافة التي أسقطها الصليبيون وأعوانهم.

³² In “Sittu Sanawāt ‘alā Ghazwat al-‘Irāq”

³³ In “Arbā‘ūn ‘āmān ‘alā Suqūt al-Quds”

“And I ask Allāh subḥānahu that He gives victory to the Islamic State in ‘Irāq and firmness to its leader Abū ‘Umar al-Baghdādī hafīdhahullāh and to give ground to this State so that it gathers all the Mujāhidīn and Muslim brothers in ‘Irāq. so that an Jihādī Islamic State emerges in the ‘Irāq of Khilāfah that sets its eyes towards Jerusalem and move forth to establish the Khilāfah State that was fallen by the crusaders and their allies.”³⁴

He also said:

هذه الإمارة الإسلامية المجاهدة المرابطة وكذلك دولة العراق الإسلامية لا بد من دعمهما بالقتال معهما، وإمدادهما بالمال والخبرات والمعلومات. وليتنب المسلمون من تخلفهم عن الطالبان أول مرة، وليعلموا أن الله سيسألهم عن خذلانهم لها.

“This Islamic Emirate which is waging Jihād and performing Ribāt, and also the Islamic State in ‘Irāq, must be supported by fighting in its ranks, and supporting it with money, experience and information. The Muslims should first repent from their betrayal of Tālibān before and should know that Allāh will ask them about their betrayal.”³⁵

He also said:

دولة العراق الإسلامية الآن تطورت عما كانت عليه شورى المجاهدين عند استشهاد الشيخ أبي مصعب الزرقاوي رحمه الله، وهذا من توفيق الله ومنه، ودولة العراق الإسلامية اليوم تخوض حرباً ضروساً على عدة جبهاتٍ ضد الصليبيين والمرتدين وعملاء إيران، ولذا فإن الأمة المسلمة مسؤولةٌ مسؤوليّةٌ ضخمةٌ عن دعمهم وتأبيدهم لكي يقضوا على مخططات الأمريكان والإيرانيين، ولكي يمكنوا لدولة الإسلام في قلب العالم الإسلامي، ولكي يدعموا توجه المجاهدين من العراق نحو أكناف بيت المقدس ليلتقي المجاهدون هناك من خارج فلسطين المباركة وداخلها إيداناً بالقضاء على إسرائيل بإذن الله.

³⁴ In “Durūs wa ‘Ibr wa Aḥdāth ‘Idhām”

³⁵ Second Round of The Open Interview with adh-Dhawāhirī, 2008

“The Islamic State in ‘Irāq has now developed from the level of the Mujāhidīn Shūrā at the time of the martyrdom of Abū Mus‘ab az-Zarqāwī raḥimahullāh, and that is because of Allāh’s guidance. The Islamic State in ‘Irāq today is waging a ferocious war on several fronts against the crusaders, Murtaddīn, and Iran’s agents. Therefore the Muslim Ummah bears a great responsibility in supporting them so that they will foil the plans of the Americans and the Iranians, and consolidate the Islamic State in the heart of the Muslim World, and so as to support the move of the Mujāhidīn in ‘Irāq toward the environs of Jerusalem³⁶, so that the Mujāhidīn will meet there, both those from outside of the blessed Palestine and those from inside it, to herald the elimination of Israel, Allāh willing.”³⁷

So it’s not appropriate to say; The Islamic State is legitimate in ‘Irāq but not in Shām, because the land of Shām is a neighbouring country.

Dr. Ayman said:

فلماذا لا تجتمعون يا أهلنا في باكستان على الإمارة الإسلامية بأفغانستان؟ إنها إمارة شرعية مسيطرة على معظم أراضي أفغانستان، وهي تقاتل عدوا صليبيًا معتديا على ديار الإسلام، وهي تحكم بالشرعية في المناطق الخاضعة لها، فلماذا لا تتحدون معها وتنصرونها؟ [...] اتحدوا تحت راية الإمارة الإسلامية التي يابيعها المسلمون من الشرق والغرب!

“So why don’t you, O people of Pakistan, join with the Islamic Emirate of Afghānistān? It is a shar‘ī emirate governing most of Afghānistān, and it is fighting a crusader enemy of Islām, it rules with Sharī‘ah over its lands, so why don’t you unite with it and support it? [...] Unite with the Islamic Emirate that Muslims have pledged allegiance to in the East and the West!”³⁸

So this (the Islamic State) is a State and not an army, and it is not allowed according to the Sharī‘ah to appoint two Imāms in two neighbouring countries.

³⁶ He mentions how the Islamic State in ‘Irāq will expand to al-Quds which is in ash-Shām

³⁷ Second Round of The Open Interview with adh-Dhawāhirī, 2008

³⁸ In “Tawḥīd al-Kalimah ḥawl Kalimat at-Tawḥīd”

So the one who affirms to the legitimacy of the State in Irāq and also sees the legitimacy of a neighbouring upcoming state which has not been established, giving away its matter to “the people of Syria”, making a difference between the two states because of fabricated borders, has indeed acknowledged the borders drawn by Sykes-Picot even if it was partial. And there is no one infallible other than the Messenger of Allāh sallā-llāhu ‘alayhi wa sallama.

Dr. Ayman said:

والفارق الثالث [بين الدولة الإسلامية والدولة القومية]: أن الدولة الإسلامية ترى نفسها مسؤولة عن كل بلاد الإسلام أو كما يقول الفقهاء: ‘إن بلاد المسلمين بمنزلة البلدة الواحدة‘، أما الدولة الوطنية فتحصر نفسها في حدود وطنها.

“And the third difference (between the Islamic state and the nationalist state) is that the islamic state sees itself responsible for all Islamic lands³⁹, as scholars have said: Muslim lands are considered one single entity, while the nationalist state only sees itself within its borders.”⁴⁰

And he also said:

الهدف السادس: العمل على إقامة الخلافة التي لا تعترف بالدولة القومية ولا الرابطة الوطنية ولا الحدود التي فرضها المحتلون، بل تقيم دولة خلافة راشدة على منهاج النبوة، تؤمن بوحدة ديار المسلمين ورابطة الأخوة التي تسوي بينهم، وتزيل الحدود التي فرضها عليهم أعداؤهم، وتسعى لنشر العدل وبسط الشورى ونصرة الضعفاء وتحرير كل ديار المسلمين.

“The sixth goal: Working to establish a Khilāfah that does not recognize nationalist states nor the borders that the invaders have established, but implements a Khilāfah ‘alā Minhāj an-Nubuwwah⁴¹, believes in the unity of all

³⁹ So how can anybody say that the Islamic State was limited to ‘Irāq even when the Muslims of Shām were slaughtered in masses? What a difference there is between them and the Murtadd Tālibān militia who claim that they do not want to interfere within other countries even if Muslims are oppressed therein!

⁴⁰ In “Tawḥīd al-Kalimah ḥawl Kalimat at-Tawḥīd”

⁴¹ Khilāfah upon the prophetic methodology

Muslim lands and the brotherhood between all Muslims, erases the borders, and strives to propagate justice and Shūrā and liberation of all Muslim lands”⁴²

So the organizations are obliged to give Bay‘ah to the State, not the opposite. So whoever demands the State to exit Shām is actually demanding its partial dissolution.

Dr. Ayman said:

الدولة خطوة في سبيل إقامة الخلافة أرقى من الجماعات المجاهدة، فالجماعات يجب أن تباع الدولة وليس العكس، وأمير المؤمنين أبو عمر البغدادي -حفظه الله- من قادة المسلمين والمجاهدين في هذا العصر، نسأل الله لنا وله الاستقامة والنصر والتوفيق.

“The State is a step in establishing the Khilāfah and is more superior than organizations. So the organizations are obliged to pledge allegiance to the State, and not the opposite.⁴³ And the Amīr al-Mu‘minīn Abū ‘Umar al-Baghdādī hafidhahullāh is among the leaders of the Muslims and the Mujāhidīn today, we ask Allāh to give him firmness and victory.”⁴⁴

And he also said:

وأقول لهم [المجاهدين في العراق]: إن دولة العراق الإسلامية هي دولتكم وإمارتكم وحكومتم، مع من ستتوحدون إن لم تتوحدوا معهم؟ فاسعوا إلى الخير معهم وأتلجوا صدور المؤمنين بالبشرى التي طال انتظارهم لها.

“And I tell them (the Mujāhidīn in ‘Irāq): The Islamic State in ‘Irāq is your State, your Emirate and your government, who are you going to unite with if

⁴² In “Wathīqat Nusrat al-Islām”

⁴³ adh-Dhawāhirī affirms that it is not just a Jamā‘ah or a organization but rather a full state and an Imāmah and he states that other organizations in ‘Irāq are obliged to pledge allegiance to it, thereby affirming once again that it’s an Imāmat al-Kubrā. The Saḥawāt in Shām disagreed by comparing the Islamic State with organizations.

⁴⁴ Second Round of The Open Interview with adh-Dhawāhirī, 2008

you don’t unite with them? Rush towards goodness with them and heal our hearts and give us the glad tiding that we have been waiting for.”⁴⁵

Dr. Ayman was never Amīr al-Mu‘minīn of the Islamic State in ‘Irāq, neither was Shaykh Usāmah ibn Lādīn raḥimahullāh, rather they had a Bay‘ah to Mullā Muḥammad ‘Umar, the Amīr of the Islamic Emirate in Afghānistān. Mullā ‘Umar has never been Amīr al-Mu‘minīn of the Islamic State in ‘Irāq, so how can someone say that Dr. Ayman has the same power as the Amīr al-Mu‘minīn?

Dr. Ayman said:

دولة العراق الإسلامية وإمارة أفغانستان الإسلامية -وأضيف إليهما- الإمارة الإسلامية في القوقاز إمارات إسلامية لا تتبع لحاكم واحد، وعسى أن تقوم قريباً دولة الخلافة التي تجمعهم وسائر المسلمين. والشيخ أسامة بن لادن -حفظه الله- جندي من جنود أمير المؤمنين الملا محمد عمر حفظه الله، وجميع من ذكرت يتناصرون ويتعاونون على نصره الإسلام والجهاد.

“The Islamic State of ‘Irāq and the Islamic Emirate of Afghānistān, and add to them the Islamic Emirate in Qawqāz, are Islamic emirates **that are not under the control of one single ruler.**⁴⁶ We hope that the Khilāfah state will be established soon to unite them with all Muslims. Shaykh Usāmah bin Lādīn hafīdhahullāh is just a soldiers of the Amīr al-Mu‘minīn Mullā Muḥammad ‘Umar hafīdhahullāh. All those you have mentioned support each other and cooperate with each other in support of Islām and Jihād.”⁴⁷

And he also said:

الملا محمد عمر -حفظه الله- هو أمير الإمارة الإسلامية في أفغانستان ومن انضم إليها من المجاهدين، والشيخ أسامة بن لادن -حفظه الله- هو أحد جنوده.

⁴⁵ Fourth Round of The Open Interview with adh-Dhawāhirī

⁴⁶ If the Islamic State had a Bay‘ah to al-Qā‘idah, then Mullā ‘Umar would have been indeed the ruler of the Islamic State in ‘Irāq. So anyone who claims that such a Bay‘ah existed, accused adh-Dhawāhirī of lying.

⁴⁷ Second Round of The Open Interview with adh-Dhawāhirī, 2008

“Mullā Muḥammad ‘Umar hafīdhahullāh is the Amīr of the Islamic Emirate of Afghānistān and the Mujāhidīn that joined it, and Shaykh Usāmah bin Lādin hafīdhahullāh is one of his soldiers.”⁴⁸

And he also said:

فإننا نُجَدِّدُ البيعةَ لِأَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ المَلَا مُحَمَّدِ عَمْرٍ مُجَاهِدٍ -حَفَظَهُ اللهُ- وَنَعَاهِدُهُ عَلَى السَّمْعِ وَالطَّاعَةِ فِي الْمُنْشَطِ وَالْمَكْرَهِ وَعَلَى الْجِهَادِ فِي سَبِيلِ اللهِ، وَإِقَامَةِ الشَّرِيعَةِ، وَنَصْرَةِ الْمَظْلُومِينَ.

“We renew the Bay‘ah to Amīr al-Mu‘minīn Mullā Muḥammad ‘Umar Mujāhid hafīdhahullāh in obedience and hearing, in matters we like and dislike, to wage Jihād in the path of Allāh, and establish Sharī‘ah, and protect the oppressed.”⁴⁹

And he also said:

إِنْ مِنْ يَتَهَمُنَا بِأَنَّا نَدْعِي خِلَافَةَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ، كَيْفَ يَتَنَاسَى أَنَّا فِي بَيْعَةِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ المَلَا مُحَمَّدِ عَمْرٍ مُجَاهِدٍ حَفَظَهُ اللهُ، أَمِيرِ الْإِمَارَةِ الْإِسْلَامِيَّةِ بِأَفْغَانِسْتَانِ؟

“And those who claim that we claim for ourselves the Khilāfah over all Muslims, how can he forget that we pledged allegiance to Mullā Muḥammad ‘Umar Mujāhid hafīdhahullāh, the Amīr of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan?”⁵⁰

As for the Islamic Emirate in Afghānistān, it is not working for expanding outside its current borders, it assured the nations of the world and its neighboring countries they will not intervene in their affairs and not be any form of danger to them (except for those who fight them in Afghānistān). This was

⁴⁸ Second Round of The Open Interview with adh-Dhawāhirī, 2008

⁴⁹ In “Watarajjal al-Fāris an-Nabīl”

⁵⁰ In “al-Īmān yasra‘ al-Istikbār”

also acknowledged by their official and famous announcements, which were refuted by some scholars and students of knowledge. Among them:

إن إمارة أفغانستان الإسلامية تؤمن بإقامة علاقات ثنائية إيجابية مع جميع الدول المجاورة في إطار من الاحترام المتبادل، وتريد فتح باب جديد للتعاون الشامل معها في مجالات التنمية الاقتصادية وحسن الجوار، إننا نعتبر المنطقة كلها بمثابة بيت واحد في مقاومتها للاستعمار، ونريد أن نقوم بدورنا الإيجابي في استقرار الأوضاع في المنطقة، ونطمئن جميع الدول بأن الإمارة الإسلامية [...] كما أنها لا تسمح إن إعلام العدو يصورنا لأحد أن يتدخل في شؤونها، فهي أيضا لا تتدخل في شؤون الآخرين [...]. بالزور والبهتان تهديدا لبعض الدول في العالم [...] إن الأعراف الدولية المعاصرة لا تسمح لأي دولة في العالم أن تتدخل في الشؤون الداخلية للدول المجاورة، [...] وإن الحرب الدائرة في المنطقة بهدف الإمبريالية والتوسعة الاستعمارية تحت لافتة الحرب ضد الإرهاب هي حرب في حقيقتها ضد القيم الإنسانية، والعدل، والسلام، [...] إنني أرجو في هذا الصدد من جميع الدول الإسلامية، والدول القوية المجاورة، وحركة دول عدم الانحياز، أن تقوم بأداء دورها الإيجابي التاريخي.

“The Islamic Emirate of Afghānistān wants good relations and mutual interactions with the world, particularly, with the Islamic world and the neighbors in the light of Islamic rules, national interests, mutual respect and joint cooperation. The Islamic Emirate does not intend to interfere in the internal affairs of others nor allows others to interfere in its internal affairs.⁵¹ The Islamic Emirate assures the entire world that it will not allow anyone to use the soil of Afghānistān against any one and makes it clear that it respects all international laws and principles in the light of its Islamic rules and national interests. [...]

The media of the enemy portrays us as if we wanted war with our neighbors, but the reality is that International laws don't permit such actions. The ongoing imperialist war against so-called terror is actually a war against human values, justice and peace [...] I urge Islamic countries, powerful neighboring countries and world organizations to play a positive role”⁵²

⁵¹ For this reason the al-Qā‘idah leadership under Shaykh Usāmah abandoned Ḥamās but today they excuse Tālibān for the very same mistake which only proofs their dishonesty and deviation.

⁵² The official Tālibān statement from ‘Īd al-Adhā 1433

It is not possible to expand outside the borders drawn by Sykes-Picot except by fighting the brown and the black⁵³ and Dr. Ayman did not name himself an Imām for a State or organization, so how can someone say that he has power over the Amīr al-Mu‘minīn of the Islamic State in ‘Irāq?

Dr. Ayman said:

نحن نريد خلافة إسلامية تختار فيها الأمة حكامها بإرادتها وحريرتها، وتعاهدهم على السمع والطاعة على كتاب الله وسنة رسوله صلى الله عليه وسلم، وتطيعهم ما أطاعوا الله فيها، نحن نرضى بمن تتوفر فيه المؤهلات الشرعية، وتختاره الأمة ليحكمها بكتاب ربها وسنة نبيها صلى الله عليه وسلم، ونحن حينئذ أنصاره وأعوانه، إن القاعدة تريد للأمة خليفة تختاره برضاها وإجماعها أو اتفاق جمهورها، ولو تمكنت الأمة من أن تقيم حكم الإسلام في أي قطر من أقطارها قبل أن تقيم خلافتها، فإن من ترضاه الأمة المسلمة في هذا القطر إماما لها تتوفر فيه الشروط الشرعية، ويقودها بالكتاب والسنة، فنحن أول من يرضى به، ولذلك فنحن نقول بمنتهى الوضوح لأمتنا المسلمة عامة، لأننا لا نريد الحكم، ولكننا نريد حكم الإسلام. ولأهلنا في الشام خاصة: إن القاعدة أبعد ما تكون عن أن تسلبكم حقكم في أن تختاروا من ترضونه حاكما مسلما يقودكم بكتاب الله وسنة رسوله صلى الله عليه وسلم، وإذا مكّن الله لحكم الإسلام في الشام قريبا بإذن الله، فإن من تختاره الأمة المسلمة فيه حاكما يقودها بكتاب الله وسنة نبيه صلى الله عليه وسلم فهو اختيارنا.

“We want an Islamic Khilāfah where the Ummah chooses its rulers by its will and freedom, listens and obeys them according to the Book of Allāh and the Sunnah of His Messenger sallā-llāhu ‘alayhi wa sallama, obeys them as long as they obey Allāh. We accept anyone who possesses the Shar‘ī qualifications and is chosen by the Ummah to rule them with the Book of Allāh and the Sunnah of His Messenger sallā-llāhu ‘alayhi wa sallama. When this happens, we will be his helpers and supporters. The al-Qā‘idah wants a Khalīfah for the Ummah, whom it chooses with the satisfaction and consensus or approval of its majority⁵⁴. If the Ummah is able to rule with the Islām in any country before the establishment of the Khilāfah, whoever it then chooses as Imām with the Shar‘ī qualifications for that country, who will lead it with the Qur’ān and Sunnah,

⁵³ i.e. all people

⁵⁴ **This is not a condition for the establishment of the Khilāfah.** al-Qalqashandī said: “What is right with our companions the Shāfi‘ites, may Allāh be pleased with them, is that it (the Imāmah) **is decided by those whose presence is possible at the time of the Bay‘ah in that place**, from the scholars, leaders and the rest of the people of opinion among the people who possess the qualities of witnesses, **even if only one of the people of power who is obeyed pledges allegiance, then it is sufficient.**” [Ma‘āthir al-Anāqah 1/44]

then we will be the first to accept him. This is because we do not want to rule, rather we want the rule of Islām. For this reason, we say in general to the Muslim Ummah and in particular to the people of Shām, al-Qā‘idah is far away from taking your right to choose the one you are satisfied with as ruler, who will rule you with the Book of Allāh and the Sunnah of His Messenger. If Allāh soon establishes the rule of Islām in Shām with His permission, then whoever the Muslim Ummah chooses as ruler, whoever leads them with the Book of Allāh and the Sunnah of His Prophet sallā-llāhu ‘alayhi wa sallama will be our choice.”⁵⁵

The specific Bay‘ah of fighting, suppose it happened and was legally valid with such innovated manner, is not higher in authority or more committed to the ruling than the Bay‘ah made by the Shūrā council, the commanders, leaders and judges to Abū Bakr al-Baghdādī as an Amīr al-Mu‘minīn of the Islamic State. So it cannot reduce his powers in the State politics, then how can they avoid him from doing the obliged? And from the greatest of obligations is the expansion of the Islamic State to the entire world.

Dr. Ayman said:

يقول شهيد الإسلام الشيخ عبد الله عزام رحمه الله: 'والبيعة دائماً على البر والتقوى لأنه عهدٌ على التعاون على البر والتقوى ولا يجوز البيعة على الإثم والعدوان كمن يتعاهدون عهداً خاصاً ثم يُطلب من المبايع بعد فترة أن يعمل أعمالاً لا يرضاها الله ولا تقرّها الشريعة كمقاطعة فلان والتجسس على فلان وتتبع عورات الآخرين...' إلى أن يقول رحمه الله: 'ولا يجوز لأحد أن يحتج ببيعته ليمنع المبايع من عمل برّ نصّ عليه الكتاب والسنة كالجهاد في سبيل الله مثلاً، لأن البيعة عندئذ تنقلب إلى بيعَةٍ على الإثم، وإنما الطاعة في المعروف ولا طاعة لمخلوق في معصية الخالق.'

“The martyr of Islām Shaykh ‘Abdullāh ‘Azzām rahimahullāh said: The Bay‘ah is always upon goodness, because we always pledge to do good, and it is not permissible to pledge allegiance for bad actions and filth, like those who pledge allegiance then are asked to do actions that anger Allāh like spying on people or uncover the ‘Awra‘at of people.” until he said: “And it is not permissible for

⁵⁵ In “al-Īmān yasra‘ al-Istikbār”

someone to use his Bay‘ah to force him to not do good that is prescribed in the Qur’ān and Sunnah, like waging Jihād in the path of Allāh because in that case it becomes an Bay‘ah in bad actions, and there is no obedience to the creation in disobedience to the Creator.”⁵⁶

That’s why they concluded that implementing what came in the letter would be disobedience to the Creator, like it can be heard in “Bāqiyah wa Tatamadad” by Amīr al-Mu‘minīn and the audio message: “Fadharruhum wamā yaftarūn” by the official spokesman, even if the writer perceived it as an order or ruling, especially since the Risālah is directed to a Amīr of a state from an Amīr of an organization who acknowledged the legitimacy of this State seven years before Jawlānī defected and split the ranks. So the Risālah surprised them by rulings which indicate that Dr. Ayman doesn’t see the legitimacy of the state, and the relationship between them was not built on this foundation. I copied some of his sayings that contradict what it stated and that is why there was so much gossip and increase in questions and assumptions that the people were almost sure he will reject the Bay‘ah of the disobedient ones, rather even Jawlānī and his friends were surprised when their Bay‘ah was accepted!⁵⁷

I ask the reader to give a moment so I can narrate some events:

When the Islamic State in ‘Irāq and Shām was announced, and al-Jawlānī came out openly splitting the ranks and disobeying the command (when he himself used to consider Abū Bakr al-Baghdādī an Imām for a legitimate State, and he presented himself as his representative in Shām), the soldiers defected from him and the Jabhah did not have any traces left in most of the Wilāyāt. Jawlānī asked to meet the Shūrā council of the Islamic State. The meeting took place in the end of Jumādā ath-Thānī and Jawlānī offered to return back to the obedience of his Amīr, with some conditions attached:

⁵⁶ In “Nasīḥatu Mushfaq”

⁵⁷ And multiple Mujāhidīn leaders assumed that Ayman adh-Dhawāhirī would judge in favor of the Islamic State as Shaykh Abū ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Qatārī or Abū Bakr al-Qaḥtānī mentioned

- 1) The name “Jabhat an-Nusrah” has to stay as a representative of the Islamic State in Shām, adding a phrase that shows they really follow the State.
- 2) The flag of “Jabhat an-Nusrah ” has to stay on the centers on its side, the flag of the Islamic State.
- 3) He must have the command and the opinion in matters concerning Wilāyāt of ash-Shām.

The Islamic State rejected his requests, so he accepted to return to obedience without conditions – due to the collapse of his front -, so he promised to visit the centers and the fronts by himself in order to tell the leaders and soldiers that he returned to the obedience and that he is a soldier of the Islamic State until the misconceptions are finished and the Fitnah between the soldiers is stopped. Before doing this he asked to delay the matter for a couple of days so that he could meet with all the close ones who approved of his defection and he can give them the news (out of respect for one another because they were used to doing that). He went but he disappeared because of the intense pressure that he encountered from those, so he sat in al-Qalamūn region desperately, until the letter reached him from the Doctor through a media person who accompanies him. He read the letter and could not believe it saying: “I was so surprised by the content that I forgot to make Sujūd thanking Allah”

When al-Jawlānī showed the letter to those who were close to him, they doubted the authenticity because they knew about the sayings of Dr. Ayman concerning the State’s legitimacy and its obliged expansion before the events of Shām happened. Also they knew he praised Jabhat an-Nusrah since it was part of the Islamic State and not vice versa. So Jawlānī was forced to add footnotes to the letter with the phrase; “Markaz al-Fajr” and he spread it on the internet and leaked a copy to al-Jazīrah media channel. **This was the first time in the history of Jihād that a personal letter directed to the leaders of Jihād was spread on satellite TV.** He did all this in order to refute those who doubted the authenticity of the letter. Note that “Markaz al-Fajr” has nothing to do with the private writings and letters of Dr. Ayman, and he started spreading passages

from the letter to his private circle (of friends) and his soldiers through the mobile phone. And these events were witnessed by some members of the State’s Shūrā council and some of the people close to Jawlānī. One of them even left them when he saw the hypocrisy.

The facts of the “return of Jawlānī to the Islamic State” meeting were restricted in detail in the notebook “Maḥdar Ijtimā‘” but Jawlānī took away the notebook after the end of the meeting saying that he wanted a copy, before he went hiding with the mentioned notebook. And for this event there are witnesses, all of them are alive all praise due to Allāh.

So the reality which was hidden from many and in Allāh we seek refuge is this letter published on 13th of Rajab (Risālat al-Ḥukm mina dh-Dhawāhirī) was the cause for splitting the ranks and gave live to the name Jabhat an-Nusrah after it was ended and collapsed after Shaykh al-Baghdādī revoked its authority.

So let’s go back to the misconceptions surrounding Bay‘ah: Those who disagree with the Islamic State are not infallible even if they were pioneers in knowledge and Jihād, Dr. Ayman said:

الشيخ حامدُ العلي والشيخ أبو بصير الطرطوسي لهما منا كل الاحترام والتقدير، وقد رأينا منهما مواقف قوية وثابتة في تأييد الجهاد والمجاهدين، نسأل الله أن يجزيهما عنها خير الجزاء. أما مخالفتهما لدولة العراق الإسلامية، فلا عصمة لبشر، وما ينشأ من خلافٍ نسعى في حله بالبحث العلمي والعمل، الذي نبتغي به جميعاً الوصول للحق ونصرة الإسلام.

“Shaykh Ḥāmid al-‘Alī and Shaykh Abū Basīr at-Tartūsī, they have all our respect and consideration, and we saw in them firm and strong stances in supporting the Jihād and the Mujāhidīn, we ask Allāh to reward them for it. As for their opposition to the Islamic State in ‘Irāq, nobody is exempt from mistakes, and when there is disagreement we solve it with evidence and research, until we find the truth and give victory to Islām.”⁵⁸

⁵⁸ First Round of The Open Interview with adh-Dhawāhirī

And the Islamic State according to Dr. Ayman was legal and remaining. Just before the announcement of expansion to Bilād ash-Shām, Dr. Ayman said:

إن الذين دافعوا عن الإسلام والجهاد وأهل السنة في العراق هم المجاهدون الشرفاء وعلى رأسهم دولة العراق الإسلامية المباركة التي لا زالت -بفضل الله- صامدة لم تغير عقيدتها ولم تتراجع ولم تتزحزح عن إنَّ للمجاهدين الشرفاء وعلى رأسهم دولة ثوابت الإسلام رغم كل الحرب القذرة التي شنت ضدها. العراق الإسلامية ديناً في عنق كل مسلم حر شريف في العراق، فلولا هم لكان مصير أهل السنة في بل إنَّ للمجاهدين الشرفاء وعلى رأسهم العراق كمصير أهل السنة في إيران على يد إسماعيل الصفوي. دولة العراق الإسلامية ديناً في عنق كل مسلم فهم الصخرة التي تحطم عليها المشروع الأمريكي في المنطقة الذي كان يهدف لتقسيم العراق ثم السعودية ثم الانتهاء بتقسيم مصر، والذي أنقذ المسلمين من هذا المخطط الأمريكي الشيطاني هم مجاهدو العراق الشرفاء وعلى رأسهم دولة العراق الإسلامية، فجزاهم لقد قدم المجاهدون الشرفاء وعلى رأسهم دولة العراق الله عن العراق وعن المسلمين خير الجزاء. الإسلامية تضحيات هائلة يصعب حصرها، قدموا الآلاف من الشهداء وأضعافهم من الجرحى والأسرى والمعاقين والأرامل والأيتام والمهجريين والمشردين والمطاردين حسبةً لوجه الله، قدموا كل هذا رغم حملة التشويه الضخمة التي شنّها عليهم الإعلام الغربي الأمريكي ووسائل الإعلام العربية التي يعرف الجميع مصادر تمويلها، ورغم حملة التضليل التي شنّها كثيرٌ من المعتمدين والملتحين وخاصةً في دويلات الخليج، ولكن المجاهدين الشرفاء وعلى رأسهم دولة العراق الإسلامية لم يابھوا لكل ذلك بل استمروا يدافعون عن بيضة الإسلام وعن حرّات المسلمين؛ لأنهم لم يقدموا ذلك رغبةً في مغنم ولا ثناء ولكنهم قدموا ذلك ابتغاء وجه ربهم. وها هم اليوم بفضل الله كالجبل الأشم لا تهزه العواصف ولا تزحزحه الزلازل مستمرون من نصرٍ لنصر ومن فتحٍ لفتح.

“Those who defended Islām, Jihād and Ahl as-Sunnah in ‘Irāq are the noble Mujāhidīn, the Islamic State in ‘Irāq being the foremost of them, and it is still, with Allāh’s blessing, firm and did not change its ‘Aqīdah and did not retract still clinging to the foundations of Islam despite the filthy war against it.”⁵⁹

The noble Mujāhidīn, and the Islamic State of ‘Irāq at the foremost, are owed debts by every free honorable Muslim in ‘Irāq. If it wasn’t for them, the destiny of Sunnis in ‘Irāq would be like the one of the Sunnis in Iran, at the hands of Ismā‘īl as-Safawī.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Modern Qā‘idīs reject this by claiming that the Islamic State deviated during the time in ‘Irāq and accuse their leaders of being influenced by the Kufī Ba‘athī ‘Aqīdah even though this was denied multiple times.

⁶⁰ During his rule, Ahl as-Sunnah wa al-Jamā‘ah in Iran were slaughtered and the people were forced to convert to the Kufī Rāfidī religion which led to Iran becoming a majority Rāfidī country.

The noble Mujāhidīn, and the Islamic State in ‘Irāq at the foremost, are owed debts by every free honorable Muslim, as they are the solid rock on which the American agenda in the region was crushed, the project to divide ‘Irāq then Saudi Arabia and Egypt. And those who saved the Ummah from this devilish American plot are the Mujahidin of ‘Irāq, and at the forefront, the Islamic State in ‘Irāq, may Allāh reward them.

Those noble Mujāhidīn, and the Islamic State in ‘Irāq at the foremost, have presented a lot of sacrifices, so many that you can’t even count them: thousands of martyrs, much more in injured, prisoners, handicapped, widows, orphans, refugees, exiled for the sake of Allāh, they presented all that despite the huge media campaign was against them, from America and from Arab regimes – and everybody knows from where they are sponsored.

And even with the misguiding campaign by many of the head- covered bearded guys especially in the gulf countries, the noble Mujāhidīn and the Islamic State in ‘Irāq at the foremost, never abandoned their mission and kept protecting the sanctity of the Muslims, not because they wanted a worldly benefit but because they wanted the pleasure of Allāh. And here they are today, firm and proud like a mountain, going from victory to victory and from conquest to conquest.”⁶¹

Destroying the State and undermining it will only be in the benefit of the Tawāghīt, Dr. Ayman said:

ولذا فإنني أسأل الذين يشككون في دولة العراق الإسلامية لمصلحة من هدم وتقويض دولة إسلامية قامت
بعد طول انتظارٍ في قلب العالم الإسلامي؟

⁶¹ In “Tawḥīd al-Kalimah ḥawl Kalimat at-Tawḥīd”

“And so, I ask those who doubt the Islamic State in ‘Irāq: In whose interest is the destruction of the Islamic State that was established after all this time spent waiting for it?”⁶²

Therefore, it is a sign of ungratefulness for the blessings and not fulfilling the debts and the removal of the Islamic State from Shām, to accept the pledge of the rebellious and the disobedient ones, to ignore the Islamic State’s virtues and blowing up their mistakes, and threatening them with a war in ‘Irāq, describing the State as Ḥarūriyyah⁶³, extremists and comparing it with the morals of the Rawāfid or ruling on the state that it is a Tā‘ifah al-Mumtani‘ah⁶⁴ with force from seeking judgement in Qur’ān and Sunnah with more extremism than the early Khawārij, and that the individual ruling on every single individual among the Islamic State is that of the group.

Both Imāms Abū ‘Umar al-Ḥusaynī al-Baghdādī and Abū Ḥamzah al-Muhājir promised that the State will remain and expand until it infiltrates the borders and conquers (back) Bayt al-Maqdis, the Arabian Peninsula, Indonesia, the Philippines, Andalusia and Rome and they took an oath on this.

I swear on The One who took them as Shuhadā’⁶⁵, we will not rest until we honor their oath and fulfill their promise with Allāh’s Help and Power, as a gratitude for them and for their blood, and Allāh is a witness for what we say. We will never bring to realization the dream of the Jews and Christians who want to see the State’s dissolution, even if it will only be a single centimeter of earth. In conclusion, Dr. Ayman said:

وأنا أدعو الأخ الكريم لمراجعة كلمة الشيخ أسامة كاملةً ففيها ردٌ على العديد من الشبهات، التي تثار بوجه دولة العراق الإسلامية نصرها الله.

⁶² Second Round of The Open Interview with adh-Dhawāhirī

⁶³ An extreme sect of the Khawārij

⁶⁴ A refraining sect that was judged by most ‘Ulamā’ with Kufr Akbar, thereby takfiring the State

⁶⁵ In shā’ Allāh

“I ask the dear brother to review the speech of Shaykh Usāmah completely, he responded to many of the allegations and rumors about the Islamic State of ‘Irāq, may Allāh give it victory.”⁶⁶

And he also said:

أدعو الأخ الكريم لمراجعة الكلمة الأخيرة للشيخ أسامة بن لادن -حفظه الله- عن العراق، التي أثنى فيها على دولة العراق الإسلامية وعلى من بايعوها، ودعا المسلمين في العراق للتوحد معها.

“I ask the dear brother to review the speech of Shaykh Usāmah in which he talked positively about the Islamic State in ‘Irāq and about those who pledged allegiance to it, and asked the Muslims of ‘Irāq to unite around it.”⁶⁷

After all this I say: If there was a consultation and supportive relationship – even if supposedly some called it (this relationship) Bay‘ah out of humbleness and mistakenly – And there is no one infallible other than the messenger of Allah sallā-llāhu ‘alayhi wa sallama - they didn’t meant to bring down the Islamic State as a shar‘ī State, and Dr. Ayman didn’t mean to claim the position of Amīr al-Mu‘minīn for it, and this is clear and abundant in the official speeches, statements and the official releases of the State and the Doctor. So the Islamic State still remains a State, and its Amīr remains the Amīr al-Mu‘minīn and Dr. Ayman remains the Amīr of an organization. And he distances himself from being an Amīr of a State usually emphasizing the Bay‘ah he has on his neck for Mullā ‘Umar the Amīr of the Emirate of Afghānistān.

So how can the relationship between the State and the organization affect the power of the Amīr al-Mu‘minīn in the Islamic State? Even if some supposedly called it Bay‘ah whoever he may be especially when we witnessed the dangerous methodological disagreements, and the leadership of al-Qā‘idah followed the media magicians in every turn they made, and they commanded them to withdraw from the frontlines in Shām, and the Islamic State was fought

⁶⁶ Second Round of The Open Interview with adh-Dhawāhirī

⁶⁷ Second Round of The Open Interview with adh-Dhawāhirī

together with everyone in it from Muhājirīn to Ansār, while the Kuffār, Murtaddīn and their Tawāghīt enjoyed it, and from Allāh we seek help.

As for the claim of seeking judgment with Dr. Ayman, this misconception was refuted by Shaykh al-‘Adnānī who asked the opponents for a Mubāhalah.

I say: How can Dr. Ayman judge between the State, and some one, two or three men while he will benefit from accepting Jawlānīs Bay‘ah? Among the conditions of a judge is, that his senses should be fine so he can distinguish between the liar and the truthful by seeing the face of the individual and hearing his voice. It also needs repeating the same questions two or three times for the prosecutor, the defendant and the witnesses for him to compare their answers.

So how is it possible for Dr. Ayman to see the face of the leaders and the disobedient and hear their voices so he can accept the testimony of the truthful one and reject the claims of the liar while he is in Khurāsān?

And how is he going to ask them and compare their answers when most of the correspondence between Khurāsān and Shām **needs two months** in most cases?

The reason why the State wrote a letter to Dr. Ayman, was to hurry him in rejecting the Bay‘ah from the disobedient, they didn’t do that because they sought judgement from him as a Judge.

So this issue and some others were the reason for Abū ‘Abdillāh ash-Shāmī to issue his verdict on the State; that the State is refraining from seeking judgment in Qur’ān and Sunnah with force.

Finally I say: For the one who wants to know how a Jihādī group that fights for Allāh’s sake turns into a group that fights for the sake of the Tāghūt, let him read the history. Let him know that the love of the person for prestige, money

and leadership will become pride, pride will become jealousy, jealousy will become arrogance, arrogance will become hatred, and hatred enmity, and enmity will become dispute with the opponent, and dispute happens by hiding Tawḥīd and displaying Shirk, avoiding the Muwaḥḥidīn and flattering the Mushrikīn in the first place. After that is the blatant Kufr and a war in the end, due to the following of desires and holding on to the misconceptions, unless Allāh protects His servant due to His Mercy.

From Allāh we seek help, in Him we put our trust, there is no power and nor strength except with Him, Allāh Alone is sufficient for us, and He is the Best disposer of affairs for us.

All praise due to Allāh.